

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02
TRSE-00 ACDA-07 IO-13 CU-02 OMB-01 /083 W
-----170235Z 062229 /13

R 161516Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7106
USMISSION NATO
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 1871

EO 11652XGDS-1
TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PINT, PL
SUBJ: POLISH APPROACH TO BELGRADE 77

1. AN EMBASSY OFFICER DISCUSSED ON MARCH 15 THE POLISH AND
EASTERN EUROPEAN APPROACH TO BELGRADE 77 WITH DR. JERZY
NOWAK, THE POLISH FOREIGN MINISTRY'S EXPERT ON BASKET III.

2. NOWAK SAID THE GOP PLANS TO SEND AN 8 OR 9 MAN
DELEGATION TO BELGRADE ABOUT ONE WEEK BEFORE THE PRE-
PARATORY TALKS BEGIN. HE WILL PROBABLY HEAD THIS GROUP.

3. NOWAK BELIEVES THE PARTICIPATING STATES SHOULD
CONCENTRATE ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FINAL ACT IN
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"REALISTIC AREAS, WHERE REAL PROGRESS CAN BE MADE" DESPITE
SOCIO-POLITICAL DISSIMILARITIES. REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS, THE
EMBASSY OFFICER NOTED RECENT POLISH AND SOVIET CLAIMS THAT
COMMUNIST EDEOLOGY EMPHASIZES A "HIGHER PLANE" OF HUMAN
RIGHTS, SUCH AS FULL EMPLOYMENT, ADEQUATE HOUSING AND MEDICAL
CARE FOR ALL. NOWAK READILY AGREED THAT THE WEST
ALSO ADHERES TO THESE CONCEPTS, WHICH ARE PERHAPS BEST

CHARACTERIZED BY THE FOUR FREEDOM'S OF WORLD WAR II. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING EASTERN WEAKNESS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD, NOWAK STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING CONFRONTATION IN THIS AREA IN BELGRADE.

4. NOWAK SAID THERE IS STILL NO COORDINATED EASTERN EUROPEAN APPROACH TO THE BELGRADE TALKS. HOWEVER, A MEETING ON THE VICE-MINISTERIAL LEVEL WILL BE HELD IN WARSAW AT THE END OF MARCH OR THE BEGINNING OF APRIL TO DEVELOP STRATEGY. NOWAK CAUTIONED THAT HIS REMARKS SHOULD BE CONDITIONED ON THE RESULTS OF THAT MEETING. ALTHOUGH THE FIRST MEETING OF THE WARSAW PACT COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS WILL TO A CERTAIN EXTENT ALSO BE CONCERNED WITH BELGRADE, THE VICE-MINISTERS' MEETING WILL BE MORE IMPORTANT. THE RECENT MEETINGS OF VICE-MINISTERS IN EAST BERLIN DID NOT DEAL WITH CSCE.

5. NOWAK SAID THAT, AS OF NOW, THE POLES WOULD NOT BE OPPOSED TO OPEN PLENARY SESSIONS AT BELGRADE, BUT THAT THE SOVIETS AND CERTAIN OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WOULD FEAR OPEN SESSIONS. THE GOP, OF COURSE, WOULD HAVE TO GO ALONG WITH THE WISHES OF ITS ALLIES. CONTENT WOULD BE MORE IMPORTANT TO THE EWATERN SIDE THAN FORM AT BELGRADE, NOWAK ADDED. HE HINTED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD PUSH HARD AT THE PREPARATORY TALKS FOR A CAREFUL LISTING OF THOSE TOPICS TO BE DISCUSSED AT MAIN CONFERENCE. ADDITIONALLY, HE SAID THEY WILL PROBABLY WANT TO SET A TIME LIMIT ON THE CONFERENCE, SUCH AS THE END OF THE YEAR.

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6. NOWAK CAUTIONED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT, AND OTHER EASTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS, WOULD OPPOSE ANY DISCUSSION FORMAT WHICH WOULD RESULT IN INVIDIOUS COMPARISONS OF THE PERFORMANCE OF EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE USSR. THE POLES, FOR INSTANCE, WOULD BE PLACED IN A VERY UNCOMFORTABLE POSITION IF WESTERN PARTICIPANTS WERE TO ASSERT THAT POLISH PERFORMANCE IN BASKET II WAS MUCH BETTER THAN SOVIET PERFORMANCE. WHILE IT WILL BE UNAVOIDABLE TO REFER TO THE PERFORMANCE OF SPECIFIC COUNTRIES, COMPARATIVE REFERENCE SHOULD BE ANATHEMA.

7. NOWAK BELIEVES THAT THE USSR WILL WANT TO TALK MOSTLY ABOUT BASKET I AND CBM'S, WITH WHICH "THEY ARE VERY DISSATISFIED." NOWAK SAID HE IS CERTAIN THE USSR WILL NOT RAISE THE WARSAW PACT'S NUCLEAR NON-FIRST-USE PROPOSAL AT BELGRADE. BREZHNEV'S PROPOSALS FOR A SERIES OF EUROPEAN CONFERENCES WOULD ALSO NOT BE RAISED. REGARDING NEW PROPOSALS, NOWAK SAID HIS MINISTRY HAD DONE A STUDY

OF POSSIBLE PROPOSALS BASED ON THE FINAL ACT AND HAD COUNTED SOME 600 POSSIBILITIES. NOWAK SAID THE MOST LIKELY CANDIDATE TO HEAD THE SOVIET DELEGATION IS DUBININ, THOUGH HE HAS RECEIVED NO WORD ON A FINAL DECISION.

8. NOWAK ALSO COMMENTED THAT THE USSR WOULD NEVER ACCEPT ANY FORM OF PERMANENT "CULTURAL INSTITUTE" REPRESENTING A WESTERN COUNTRY ON ITS TERRITORY. THE EMBASSY OFFICER POINTED OUT THAT THIS WAS INCONGRUOUS IN VIEW OF THE PROLIFERATION OF SOVIET CULTURAL INSTITUTES IN EASTERN EUROPE AND AROUND THE WORLD.

DAVIES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TREATY COMPLIANCE, PLANNING MEETINGS, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS, BASKET III
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 16-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977WARSAW01871
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770091-0192
Format: TEL
From: WARSAW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770352/aaaabten.tel
Line Count: 129
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: edbb09b7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3086243
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POLISH APPROACH TO BELGRADE 77
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PL, CSCE
To: STATE NATO BRUSSELS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/edbb09b7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009